

トバイアス・スモレット他編 『万国史』における文明概念

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序 『万国史』の概略と研究目標

『万国史』の概略については、すでに『宇都宮大学国際学部研究論集』第2号に調査報告を発表したが、簡単に繰り返しておきたい。

『万国史』は、2期にわたって出版された異なる2種の歴史書をまとめて呼ぶ通称である。最初は1736年から1744年にかけて出版された *An Universal History, From the Earliest Account of Time to the Present: Compiled From Original Authors; and Illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes, Chronological and Other Tables* で、7巻9冊である。その後1759年より1766年にかけて16巻と別冊が出版され、*Modern Part of the Universal History. Compiled from Original Writers, by the Authors of the Antient, Which Will Perfect the Work. and Render It a Complete Body of History, from the Earliest Account of Time, to the Present.* と呼ばれている。ここでは便宜上前者を『万国史古代編』、後者を『万国史現代編』と呼ぶことにする。

この2編の『万国史』の体裁はほぼ同じである。フォリオ版(35×22.5cm)で平均700ページに及ぶ革装の豪華な大冊である。1ページの組版は16語で64行だが、脚注がある場合はもっと多い。

編纂者に関して、『万国史古代編』については、G. Sale, G. Psalmanazar, A. Bower, G. Shelvocke, J. Swinton であることが知られているが、『万国史現代編』については詳しいことは分かっていない。Tobias Smollett が相当に関与したことは確かで、彼の伝記によれば、フランス、ドイツ、ノルウェー、スウェーデン、オランダの歴史部分を担当したと言われている。¹

この2編は、異なる出版物であるが、『万国史現代編』が『万国史古代編』の続編を目

指したことは、その序文から明らかである。『万国史古代編』はその原題から明らかなように、当初は古代から現代までに及ぶ全世界の歴史書を目指したのだが、現実には西アジアとヨーロッパの古代史で終わってしまった。『万国史現代編』はその不足を補い、『万国史古代編』が目指した当初の目標を達成したのであった。

この『万国史』は、おそらく全世界史を記述しようとした世界最初の歴史書である。そしてイギリスにおいては出版後長く読まれ続けた。本書のこのような意義を考えれば、記述の内容が検討されなければならないはずであるが、まだ本格的な研究はなされていないといつてよい。²

本研究は、この『万国史』がどのように文明をとらえているかを各国の記述から探ろうとしたものである。いうまでもなく西洋諸国の海外進出は、世界の歴史を大きく変えたが、もっとも深刻な結果はそれまで独自に繁栄していた諸文明が変化を迫られ、内的発展とは異なった動きをとっていったことである。その変化の要因にはさまざまなものが考えられるが、西洋諸国がもっていた文明観もその一つであることは疑いがない。

では、その文明観とはどのようなものであったろうか。結果から先に述べれば、それはきわめて多義的な概念であった。だが、多義的とはいっても明確な範囲を有する多義性であった。すなわちそれは、1. キリスト教中心主義的文明観、2. 進歩史観的文明観、3. 帝国主義的文明観、4. 普遍主義的文明観の4つを合わせ持ち、同時に生態系への配慮をまったく欠落させた文明観であったのだ。

このことは、ヨーロッパ最初の全世界史といえる『万国史』にも看取することができる。本論では、『万国史』に明確に見て取れる4つの本質的に異なる文明観を拾い上げると同時に、そこに欠落している文明観を指摘することによって、『万国史』における文明観の本質に迫りたいと思う。

第1節 キリスト教中心主義的文明観

『万国史古代編』は、旧約聖書の天地創造の記述をもとにした宇宙の生成の説明から始まる。この世界観は『万国史現代編』になっても受け継がれており、アジアが人類発展の中心だとの考えの根底に横たわっているのは、この旧約聖書の世界観、『万国史』の表現法にならえば、「モーゼ史観」‘Mosaic history’であった。『万国史現代編』はつぎのように書く。

Now, considering the state of arts, religious rites, and civil institutions, as spread over the face of our globe, it will appear from the lights we have concerning these matters, that Asia has originally contributed to the peopling of the other parts, and that consequently a good argument may be deduced from hence in favour of the truth of the Mosaic history. According to the scriptures, the whole race of mankind issued from thence at two periods, first, on the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, a place situated near the Tigris and Euphrates; and secondly, when the earth was repopled upon the descent of Noah from the ark at Mount Ararat, a considerable eminence likewise in Asia. Moses himself has informed us concerning the first inhabitation of many of the eastern countries, and of the names and extraction of the first planters of them: but what is most remarkable in the case, the most ancient histories and accounts we have, those of Moses excepted, are concerning such countries and kingdoms as lie in the eastern parts of the world, such as Egypt, China, Babylon, &c. clearly shewing, according to the Mosaic account of things, that these places were the first inhabited and the first cultivated. Hence it would be no difficult matter to evince the progress of arts and sciences, of religious usages, and civil customs; and even to trace the introduction of many trees, plants, and animals from the same quarter into the more western parts. (UHM. XVI. p.120)³

すなわち、西アジアから人類が移動していったこと、および同地域から文明が広がっていったことは、モーゼの史書が明らかにしていることであり、それは史跡等からも証明可能だというのである。

それでは、モーゼ史観を受け継いだ地域でもっとも発展した文明をもっているのは、どこだろうか。それは発祥地のアジアではなく、ヨーロッパであった。『万国史現代編』はつぎのように書く。

Though Europe be the least of the four parts of the world, it may justly have the preference for the mildness of the air, the fertility of the soil, the many navigable rivers, the great plenty of corn, cattle, wine, oil, and all things requisite, nor only for the sustenance and comfort, but even for the luxury of the human life; and more especially for the beauty, strength, courage, ingenuity, industry, and wisdom of the inhabitants; the excellency of their governments, and equity of their laws, the freedom of their subjects; and, which surpasses all, the purity and sanctity of the Christian religion, which is professed through out all Europe, except that part of it which is possessed by the Turks. (UHM. XVI. pp.158-9)

ヨーロッパがこのような進歩したのも、風土が文明の発展に適していたことや社会制度の進歩のおかげもあるが、第一の要因はキリスト教の純粹性と神聖さだというのである。つまりアジア以上のヨーロッパの進歩は、モーゼ史観を受け継ぎながらもさらにそれを純化し聖化したキリスト教により達成されたと主張しているのである。したがって、アフリカを発展させるにも、キリスト教徒としての義務が強調される。

Whether, instead of making slaves of these people, it would not rather become such nations that assume to themselves the name and character of Christians, to give them a relish for the blessings of life, by extending traffic into their country in the largest degree it will admit of, and introducing among them the more civilized arts and customs, may be submitted to consideration. The Dutch, by recommending their dress and introducing their customs in the Spice-Islands, have wonderfully humanized the inhabitants, who were as strange in their manners as the negroes. (UHM. XVI. p.123)

このようなキリスト教中心主義の文明観は、異教の蔑視にその本質がよく表れている。とくにイスラム教に対しては反感が著しい。アラブ人がイスラム教を受け入れたのは、彼らの邪悪な性格にもっとも適した宗教だったからだという。

Christianity was first preached in Arabia by St. Paul and some others of his eminent disciples, so that it received the light of the gospel from the earliest time, but this light in many parts was much clouded, if not totally eclipsed, long before the grand impostor Mohammed appeared, whose religion the Arabs soon embraced, as most suitable to their wicked inclinations. (UHM. XVI. p.36)

別の箇所では、イスラムの危険性をキリスト教との類似に求めている。

Of all false religions, the Mohammedan is the most dangerous, as it not only flatters the senses, but in many points agrees with Christianity. It is called Islam, and is divided into two distinct parts: Iman, signifying faith or theory, and Din, religion or practice. The first is that general confession of faith, that "there is no God but the true God, and that Mohammed is his apostle," under which are comprehended six branches, 1. Belief in God. 2. In his angels. 3. In his scripture. 4. In his prophets. 5. In the resurrection and day of judgment. 6.

In God's absolute decree of predestination both of good and evil. The points relating to practice, are, 1. Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings and purifications, which are required as necessary preparations before prayer. 2. Alms. 3. Fasting. And, 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. (UHM. XVI. p. 62)

このイスラム教への蔑視は、特にトルコ人の描写に顕著に見られる。以下の記述ではトルコ人の欠点はキリスト教徒によって補われたことを暗示している。

There are no nobility or hereditary governments in Turkey; the bashas and great officers of state are all educated in the seraglio, being the children of Christian parents, taken by the Tartars in their excursions, or purchased by the merchants, many of whom deal only in this kind of traffic. Sometimes, indeed, the renegado Christians arrive at the highest employments in their fleets and armies, and are observed to have done more mischief to Christendom, than those educated Mohammedans, being better skilled in the arts of war and navigation than the Turks usually are. And indeed, but few of the native Turks are found in any great posts, their officers, both civil and military, with the best part of their forces, being composed chiefly of the children of Christians or renegadoes. (UHM. XVI. p.60)

トルコ帝国のギリシア占領については、その文化的関連から、記述に激しい語調が感じられる。

The Greeks, the ancient inhabitants of the better part of these countries, were eminent for their wit and learning, for their great actions, and for the numerous heroes that appeared amongst them; but since they have been subject to the barbarous Turks, most of their fine cities have been destroyed, and a deluge of ignorance introduced into those admired feats of learning and politeness. The Athenians retain, perhaps, to this day more vivacity, more genius, and a politer address, than any other people in the Turkish dominions. Oppressed as they are at present, they notwithstanding opposed, with great courage and wonderful sagacity, every addition to their burden, which an avaricious or cruel governor may attempt to lay on them. (UHM. XVI. p.248)

イスラム教について、批判の対象になっているのが中国の宗教である。

The religion of the Chinese is gross idolatry, or rather, they are said to worship one supreme God, and several inferior deities, who appear to have been men eminent in their several ages, particularly the inventors of arts and sciences. They also worship things inanimate, as mountains, woods, and rivers, but never sacrifice to vice, as is customary with other Pagans. There are three sects in China at this day: first, the followers of Li-Laokun, who lived, they say, above 500 years before Christ. He taught that God was corporal, and had many subordinate deities under his government. His disciples study magic, and pretend to make that drink which will give men immortality. The second is the sect of the learned, or disciples of the so much celebrated Confucius, who left many admirable precepts of morality, and instructed the people in philosophy. He speaks of God as a most pure and perfect principle, and the fountain and essence of all beings. Though we are told he prohibited idolatry, he has temples and images erected to him, and is worshipped with the profoundest adoration, as appears from the pope's decree against the Jesuits for allowing their converts to mingle this idolatrous worship with that of Christianity. The third sect, which is of the worshipers of the idol Fo, or Fobi, the founder of the Chinese nation, is much more numerous than either of the former. They stile him the only Saviour of the world. His priests teach several moral precepts, and a state of rewards and punishments after this life. The punishments consist chiefly in animating some vermin or beast of burden after life; whence, it seems, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls have been long known to them. (UHM. XVI. p.97)

中国の孔子は例外的に評価が高いが、しかしその後の儒教における孔子崇拝については厳しい評価となっていることがわかるであろう。

同様の評価は、ベトナムの宗教の記述にも見られる。ベトナム人の勤勉さに言及した後、宗教について否定的評価を下す。

These are the advantageous lights in which the Tonquinese appear; but, when we take a view of their worship, the scene is changed: nothing is seen but error, impiety, and extravagant superstition. Of the three sects into which they are divided, that of a hermit, called Chachabout, might be considered as the only reasonable one, by the observation of the precepts of the law of nature, of which he has made ten express commandments, if it was not corrupted by imaginations and chimeras founded on the metempsychosis, and if it did not bring up its votaries in idolatry. The second is, that of the philosopher Confucius, whose memory is so famous throughout China and the neighbouring states. The doctrine of his books, as explained by the learned men of this country, is nothing but idolatry, or perhaps,

a refined atheism, acknowledging no other God but the heavens, or virtue, and supposing that the human soul evaporates into air at death. The third sect is, that of Lantbu, originally a Chinese, whose whole study was the contriving of enchantments, zeal and charity for the poor. Most of the bonzes, or Tonquinese priests, offer no sacrifices, and give no responses till they have consulted the devil by some magic charms, or ceremonies, all tending to that wicked purpose. (UHM. XVI. pp.115-6)

このようにして文明の判断基準の一つはキリスト教にあった。異教すべてが邪教として退けられているわけではない。すでに見たように儒教の高い倫理性が賞賛を得ていることは、古代ギリシアの哲学者たちと同じである。またゾロアスター教は一神教のゆえに一定の評価を得ている。だが、すべての宗教のうちでキリスト教が絶対的な優位性をもって扱われており、文明の評価もこの宗教的観点から行われていることは間違いがない。

第2節 進歩史観的文明観

『万国史』の暗黙の前提となっているのは、人間の社会が未開状態から文明社会へと進歩しているとの考えである。このように社会の進歩を前提にした歴史観は、18世紀ヨーロッパの啓蒙主義から19世紀のロマン主義に顕著な歴史観であるが、『万国史』ではこの進歩を測る尺度として、農業、技芸・工業、貿易、保健衛生、政治体制、行儀作法、勤勉さ、学問・教育を使っている。次にそうした評価の典型的な例を見てみたい。

グルジアを記述する際に、その国土は肥沃であるにもかかわらず、適切な耕作がなされておらず、また他の産業も振興が遅れていることを批判めいた口調で言及している。特に人身売買への糾弾は厳しい。

This country is naturally rich and fertile, but is far from being rightly cultivated; and though the natives profess Christianity, they are of so rude and vicious a nature, that they neither encourage ingenuity or labour, nor apply themselves to agriculture, manufactures, or other laudable occupations...The whole country of Georgia is but thinly inhabited, and has but very few cities in proportion to its extent and fertility. This must be ascribed to their trading chiefly in boys and girls, a barbarous and unnatural traffick, which is here carried on to a most shameful height, parents selling their children, masters their servants, lords their vassals

and tenants, and in short, every man selling what males and females he can get power over, all which are disposed of to the Turks, Persians, and others, who make use of them in their armies and seraglios, as slaves, mutes, eunuchs, soldiers, statesmen, and concubines, according as their capacities, or the favour they find with their masters, can recommend them. (UHM. XVI. p.55)

インドの記述にあたっては、その文明の不均衡に言及している。インドでは手工業が異常に発達しているのに、建設や土木、軍事技術が遅れているという。

The arts which furnish the conveniencies of life have been carried by the Indians to a pitch far beyond what is necessary to supply the wants of a climate which knows so few. At the same time no ideas of taste or fine design have existed among them, and we seek in vain for elegance in the magnificence of the richest empire of the globe. Their knowledge of mechanical powers is so very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mohammedans came amongst them.....They have therefore always been immensely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth. (UHM. XVI. p.109)

中国に関しては、その技術的進歩の事実は認めながらも、すでに日本やドイツに遅れをとっていると現状の問題点を指摘している。

The Chinese are undoubtedly a very ingenuous and industrious people, as appears by all their fine manufactures daily brought into Europe; such as their wrought dishes, cabinets, and other japanery, their curious porcelane; though in this they are excelled by the Japanese, and are still likely to be more so by the Saxons and Germans, where a manufacture has not long since been set up, which exceeds them both, especially in the beauty of the painting. The admirable cultivation of their land, their great and many canals, and variety of magnificent structures, are further testimonies of their genius and industry: to which we may add, what seems now generally agreed on all hands, that they have had the use of the mariners compass, of gun-powder, and the art of printing, for many centuries; insomuch that some are of opinion, that they were all three brought from thence to Europe, either by Paul the Venetian, or by some other channel. (UHM. XVI. p.100)

技芸や工業と並んで、貿易も進歩の尺度を測る基準となった。この点においても中国には問題があったというのが『万国史』の判定である。

Their laws oblige them to certain rules of civility in their words and actions; but they are naturally a fawning, cringing generation, and the greatest hypocrites on the face of the earth. Trade and commerce, or rather cheating and over reaching, seems to be the natural bent and genius of this people: gain is their god, they prefer it to every thing. A stranger is in great danger of being cheated, if he trusts to his own judgment; and if he employs a Chinese broker, it is well if he does not join with the merchant to impose on the stranger. (UHM. XVI. p.100)

スウェーデン人の欠点を挙げる中で、その最たるものを妬みとし、それが貿易の不振につながっていることを示唆している。

As to the vices of the Swedes, they are at least as conspicuous as their virtues; they have a fickleness in their tempers, equally fatal to them in the pursuit of politics or learning; they have a great proportion of vanity, which displays itself particularly in furniture and equipage; for as to those expences that make no shew, these people are by nature little addicted to them. But the vice most predominant among them is envy, directed more especially against strangers, who if they thrive in trade, at court, or in the army, fill the people with an unaccountable malice and displeasure. And the same bad turn they are apt to take, even against their own countrymen, more especially if they spring from a low beginning, or rise at too quick a rate. They are not much inclined to manufactures, nor have they any true genius for trade, though they have good ships and skilful seamen. (UHM. XVI. pp.273-4)

文明の尺度のもう一つは、保健衛生である。シベリアの原住民は屈強であるが、保健衛生環境が幼児の死亡率を上げているために、人口減少が起きていると論ずる。

This, however, is not because their situation, upon the whole, is favourable to life in the tender years of infancy, but it is rather the reverse; for all the children who are not strong by constitution, die soon, and none are reared but those who are born with the greatest natural advantages. More than two-thirds of the children that are born here die in their infancy, and it is common to find

but three or four alive, in families that have had sixteen or eighteen. Many other causes concur gradually to depopulate the villages that are scattered through this vast desert. The small-pox frequently carries off half the inhabitants of one of these hamlets at a time, and sometimes a greater proportion; the scurvy is also very fatal among them; and where they can procure spirituous liquors, the inroads of disease and mortality are in proportion to their want of the advantages which makes intemperance less fatal in other places. The venereal disease also makes great havock among these unhappy wretches, to whom the method of cure is wholly unknown; it prevails so much in Siberia and Northern-Tartary, that there is great reason to believe it will at length depopulate the country. (UHM. XVI. p.86)

政治体制については、特に専制主義、絶対主義、独裁主義が強く批判されている。中国の政治体制についても、東洋的独裁主義が批判されているが、その秩序の正しさには賞賛が感じられる。

The emperor of China is as despotic and arbitrary as any oriental prince; for he has an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of all his subjects, the princes of the blood is not excepted. His will is a law, and his commands admit of no delay or neglect under severe penalties. Notwithstanding, his government is one of the most exact and uniform manner that can be contrived for the administration of justice, and the due performance of all the offices of a well regulated government. (UHM. XVI. p. 97)

インドシナの為政者にとっては、臣民の命など何の価値も無く、飢饉も気にならないとして、その専制主義が批判されている。

However, it must be supposed that these numerous armies seldom keep the field any time, without great loss by famine; for a very considerable diminution is scarcely felt among such numbers, and very little regarded from any notions of humanity: a famine is, therefore, neither considered as any thing extraordinary, nor will the remembrance of it ever prevent the assembling of another multitude, who must also be liable to the same chances of subsisting or starving, as accident shall determine. (UHM. XVI. P. 106)

タイは、その首都が美しい都市であることに比べ、周辺は荒れ地で森林が多く、住民は

悲惨な状態に置かれていて、独裁主義が威力をもっていることを示唆している。

However, all this kingdom, which is very large, is nothing better than a desert. In proportion as one advances into the country, scarce any thing is seen but forests and wild beasts. The people, who are miserable, dwell on the banks of the rivers, and prefer that situation to any other, because the lands, which are overflowed six months in the year, produce, almost without any culture, great quantities of rice, which does thrive but in water. In this rice consist all the riches of the country. Thus in going up from Bancok to Luvu, is seen, with respect to the people and the cities, all that can merit any attention in this kingdom. Haughtiness, despotism, and an absolute government, are the only marks by which the prince chuses to be distinguished from all other sovereigns. The respect which he demands of his people reaches almost to adoration, and the posture in which they must appear in his presence is a testimony of it. Even in council, which lasts sometimes four hours, the ministers of state, and the mandarins, are continually prostrated before him. They never speak to him but on their knees, having their hands raised to their heads, making every moment profound reverences, and accompanying their discourse with pompous titles, celebrating his power and his goodness. When he goes abroad, all are obliged to keep within doors. His subjects are slaves, who possess nothing but what belongs to him. Even nobility is not hereditary, consisting only in honours and employments, which the prince bestows, and which he may withdraw whenever he pleases. (UHM. XVI. p.112)

『万国史』ではアジアの政治体制を絶対制、専制体制、独裁制と見ており、これがアジアの進歩の障害と考えているが、とりわけその傾向をトルコに見ている。

Asia has much the advantage over the other three parts of the world in respect to fertility, opulence, and populousness, except where the tyranny of the government has laid an invincible obstacle on them. With regard to its soil, it is plain that nature has been extremely munificent to it, and that it abundantly repays all the cost and labour expended on it, both in the quantity and quality of its produce; and that the grain and fruit it yields, are by far more delicious than those of Europe, and in much greater plenty and variety. This is visible by what has been said of Persia, China, Japan, and some other parts, where the lands are hereditary, and every owner encouraged to make the best of every spot; whereas, in those vast tracts of Asia which groan under the Turkish yoke, though naturally as rich and fruitful, at least they were so in better times, and under easier governments, scarce one tenth part is turned to the advantage it formerly

was, and might still be, with proper encouragement. This is a plain indication, that it is not the pretended natural indolence of the inhabitants, but the precarious property of the lands, that makes so many rich and fruitful countries lie uncultivated, so many once opulent cities and provinces either intirely laid waste, or so poorly inhabited in the latter; whilst, in the former, where property is secured to the industrious owner, every country is well tilled, and full of inhabitants; and among these, a much greater number of ingenious men than of rude and idle, who take pleasure in exerting their application to trades, manufactures, and all sorts of commerce, all which must naturally rise and fall, according to the good or bad principles that constitute the policy of the government. (UHM. XVI. pp.119-120)

スペインの問題点も、独裁的で専制的な王政にあるとされる。以下、フィリップ2世とその後継者に関する記述を引用しておこう。

His son Philip II. who, if ambitious princes are to be stiled so, was the wisest king, at least the greatest politician that Europe ever saw, and in that quality bade the fairest for universal monarchy; in his pretensions to which, he was rather defeated by providence, than either by the power or prudence of those that opposed him; and yet he had to deal with some of the greatest princes that ever ruled in this part of the world. The mighty power which he established dwindled away and sunk to nothing under his successors, Philip III. Philip IV. and Charles II. so that at last they were protected in the possession of their dominions, by those very powers that had been raised upon their ruin. A strange revolution this! but worth of attention; because it shews us how the most potent governments are enfeebled and brought to decay by all-grasping princes; and how providence counteracts human policy, so as to draw events directly contrary to their intentions, from the plans laid down and executed by the ablest statesmen, to gratify the desires of the most ambitious princes. (UHM. XVI. p.174)

フランスのルイ14世に関しては、特にその絶対王政について激しい批判が行われている。その恣意的で独裁的な政治のためにフランス国民が疲弊してしまったと断じている。

The cares of his successor, Lewis XIV. after the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, were such as ought to have been the cares of his whole life: they were bent to secure the succession of the royal family, and to restore the trade and welfare of his subjects, to both which he appeared now very sollicitous; nor did

he make any scruple of confessing, that experience had convinced him of the error of his former conduct, and the follies of which he had been guilty, in preferring his own grandeur to the good of his people, and the lustre of his reign to the safety of the state. Before this period, as a king, he was ambitious with respect to his neighbours, arbitrary towards his subjects, and boundless in both. With regard to the former, he had no tie but interest; and to the latter, no law but his blood without power, and his parliaments without authority. The force of his kingdom he reduced to a standing army; the property of his subjects he rendered precarious, and maxims have been invariably pursued, though with the shew of greater lenity and moderation, the prince being naturally good, but weak. (UHM. XVI. p.201)

ただし、デンマークでは、絶対王政であるにもかかわらず、国王がその権力の行使を限定的に行っているため、自由主義諸国に見られるような悪徳を生まずに済ませていると論じている。

The laws of this country have been deservedly in reputation, as lying within a very narrow compass, and the administration of justice is so well looked after, that suits in this country are but few, and those very speedily determined. The king makes and repeals laws, as to him appears necessary for the good of his subjects; but the crown has always used its power with much moderation and discretion: so that as Denmark may be said to be the only legal absolute government in Europe, perhaps, in the world, the people have had less reason to regret the change made by themselves than could well have been expected; and if their monarchs copy after the example of their present king, the Danes will feel fewer evils from the want of liberty, than in other nations are produced by the abuse of it. (UHM. XVI. p.279)

文明の進歩を測る基準として頻繁に言及されているのが、礼儀作法である。ベトナム人はこの点において高く評価されている。

Where the arts flourish, it seldom happens that the manners of the people are rough and unpolished. The Tonquinese are affable, and naturally formed to the laws of reason. The gravity and modesty of their garb shews their character. Both sexes are cloathed almost in the same manner: their dress is a long robe, pretty straight, with a close neck, reaching down to the heels, and kept tight about the waist with a like girdle of gold and silver tissue: the military dress comes no farther

than the knees. It is the common custom of the country to go barefooted all the year. The Tonquinese ladies are as modest and reserved as the common women are free; they wear a sort of very broad hat, made of the leaves of a tree, and adorned with a net-work of thread curiously wrought. They wear their hair as long as it will grow, and dress it with great care; the men tie it under the neck, or leave it loose behind, especially the mandarins and learned men. They are of a strong and hardy constitution, their stature middling and well-proportioned, their features just and agreeable. (UHM. XVI. p. 115)

これに対してグルジアの女性の行動は問題があるとされる。

There is hardly any nation under the sun that can boast of such fine women. Nature seems to have heaped such graces upon them as are no where to be seen, whether we consider them with respect to their fair complexion, beautiful faces, handsome stature, slender waist, or clean limbs. This is the reason they are in such request in the courts of Persia and Turkey; but for the better part they are as vicious as handsome, contributing by their lewdness, to which they are extremely addicted, to that inundation of sensuality by which the country is overrun. (UHM. XVI. p.56)

勤勉さもまた、文明進歩の尺度である。ベトナム人の勤勉さは、国王が競争制度を導入したことによって養成されたという。

This particular species of ingenuity as well as many others, are a consequence of the emulation which the kings of Tonquin, like those of China, have encouraged amongst their subjects, in order to refine and improve all the sciences. Nobility, with suitable revenues, is the reward of those who excel in the knowledge of the laws, of mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. Several days in the year are set apart for the examination of those who present themselves, and sometimes there are near 3000 candidates. The king honours this ceremony with his presence; he confers nobility on those who have given satisfaction to the questions of the mandarins; he orders a robe of violet sattin to be given them, and appoints the cities and villages which are to produce the revenues he is pleased to assign them. (UHM. XVI. p.115)

オランダの繁栄は国民の勤勉さによって築かれたという。

In regard to industry, the Netherlands are an example to the whole world. Nothing can live where they starve, and nothing is idle among them that can sustain any degree of labour. The universal navigation of the rivers and canals passing through innumerable cities and populous towns, implies, that there must be a great inland traffic; and this, indeed, in proportion to the extent of territory, is a prodigious business. The trade of the French and Dutch Netherlands is much the same with that of the Austrian; and, in regard to the Dutch particularly, it may be said, that there is not a manufacture in Europe but is managed to advantage among them, nor a place in the world but they visit with their fleets. They have also some advantages in their traffic, which the rest of the world cannot rival them in, particularly in the sale of the fine spices, which they have monopolized these hundred years, and in the herring and what fisheries, by which they acquire immense wealth. (UHM. XVI. p. 227)

文明進歩の指標として、教育研究が使われていることは言うまでもない。学問が蔑まれている小アジアには、見るべき大学がないという。

Universities, or any seats of learning, can hardly be expected under a government whose religion inspires men with a contempt for all kind of literature: so that if we except some few academies which the jesuits and some other orders of the church of Rome have, with great difficulty, been allowed to erect here, and some few Greek and Armenian schools, where their children are sent to learn to read, or perhaps to write, there are no other seminaries for learning in all this vast country: and in general, the clergy of all denominations are very ignorant, except those who have travelled, or come thither from foreign countries. (UHM. XVI. p.16)

トルコの高等教育については、その内容がかなり詳細に記述されている。

The most beautiful, well made, and sprightly of the youth, who are designed for employments in the governments or army, are always reviewed and approved of by the grand signior, before they are admitted into the seraglios of Pera, Constantinople, or Adrianople, which are the three colleges or seminaries, where they are educated or fitted for employments, according to the opinion the court entertains of them. They are first taught silence, and an humble modest behaviour; then instructed in the Mohammedan religion, and to speak and write the Turkish language, and afterwards the Persian and Arabic. When fit for many

exercises, they are taught the use of arms, and such other arts and sciences as may render them serviceable to the state, and are advanced, and their salaries augmented, according to their proficiency, and, as places and governments fall, are preferred to them; but they are seldom preferred out of the seraglio till the age of forty, before which they are thought not sufficiently qualified for governors. The janizaries, or grand signior's guards, are all educated in the seraglio, and their aga or commander is the most considerable military officer. Part of the court is composed of mutes and dwarfs; the mutes, who are born deaf and consequently dumb, are about forty in number, and are taught to discourse by signs. With these and the dwarfs the sultan frequently diverts himself; and if a dwarf happens to be an eunuch and a mute, too great a value cannot be set upon him. (UHM. XVI. p.61)

インドの学問については、批判が強い。音楽や修辞学についての観念は野蛮だとさえ言う。

But to return to the Bramins: it may be said, as to the particulars of their science and religion, that some of them are capable of calculating an eclipse, which seems to be the utmost stretch of their mathematical knowledge. They have a good idea of logic, but it does not appear that they have any treatises on rhetoric: their ideas of music, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous; and in medicine they derive no assistance from the knowledge of anatomy, dissections being repugnant to their religion. They shed no blood, nor eat any flesh, because they believe in the transmigration of souls; they encourage wives to burn themselves with their deceased husbands, and seem to make the perfection of religion to consist in a punctual observance of numerous ceremonies performed in the worship of their gods, and in a strict attention to keep their bodies free from pollution. Hence purifications and ablutions, as dictated by their scriptures, are scrupulously observed by them, and take up no small portion of their time. A Bramin cannot eat any thing which has been prepared, or even touched by any other hand than that of a Bramin, and from the same principle cannot be married to a person of any other tribe in the kingdom, because his own tribe is the highest, even above that of the kings. They say, that they were formerly the kings of the whole country, and retain to this day the privilege of commuting capital punishment, when merited, by the loss of their eyes. To kill a Bramin is one of the five sins, for which there is scarce any expiation. (UHM. XVI. p.108)

これらに対して、ヨーロッパの学問に対する評価は際だっている。

The Europeans also have been the most renowned for learning and arts. All their scholastic sciences they have brought to a much greater perfection than either the Asiatics or Africans ever did; and the invention and improvement of numberless useful and ingenious art, particularly that of navigation, on which all intercourse of foreign commerce between distant nations depends, is wholly owing to the genius and industry of the inhabitants of this part of the world. (UHM. XVI. p.159)

文明とは、このように進歩史観的な観点に立てば、農業、工業、商業、貿易、保健衛生、政治体制、礼儀作法、勤労意欲、学問教育などの分野で「進んでいる」と判断される社会のあり様をいう。逆に、これらの分野で遅れていれば「野蛮」なのである。インドは人権を無視した政治体制のゆえに「野蛮」だ、という。

The king is interred with those idols of gold and silver which he worshipped in his life-time, a live elephant, twelve camels, six horses, and a great number of hounds, in the belief that all these things will be useful to him in the other world. Barbarity accompanies superstition in this funeral solemnity. At the king's death, the woman whom he has loved best, and the principal officers of his household, poison themselves, that they may have the glory of being interred with him, and of serving him in a future state. If a private person, all his friends and relations must assist at his funeral, and every one must throw into the grave the bracelets and other ornaments he wears. (UHM. XVI. p. 111)

アフリカが野蛮なのは、貿易が進んでいないからである。アフリカ人は貴重な資源を輸出するだけで、ヨーロッパの産物を受け取っていない。

Respecting Africa, its inhabitants, Egypt excepted, being mostly barbarians, such as the Moors and Mohammedans on the north and north east part, and the Ethiopians on the north-east, or the mere savages and negroes of the south and west parts; they all take no great quantities of merchandizes from Europe: they take very little indeed, in comparison of the returns made to Europe in exchange. The European goods sent to Africa are such as the Moors of the coast on the south shores of the Mediterranean sea take off, which consist chiefly in some English and French woolen and linen manufactures, and great quantities of toys and baubles; in return for which, Europe receives from the side of Africa far more than an equivalent in corn, salt, almonds, wax, copper, and a large quantity of very valuable drugs. From the coast of Africa, on the side of the ocean

west, and on the side of the Indian or Ethiopian seas east, Europe receives annually an immense treasure, either brought immediately to them, or carried by the European merchants in their own ships, and for their own account to America or elsewhere; and this is properly the European trade, and consists of gold, elephants teeth, slaves, and drugs. By these articles (the quantity and value of which is infinitely great, considering that a great part of them is procured by the exchange of mere toys and trifles, scarce worth naming) the balance of the commerce between Europe and Africa is greatly to the advantage of the former; and that so far, that it is mighty extraordinary and unaccountable that the several maritime nations of Europe do not extend that commerce to a far greater degree; which it is manifest might be done with the greatest ease, and to such a height as, perhaps, might equal all the present improvements by colonies and plantations in America, many of which are remote, dangerous and unhealthy, liable to certain charge, to disaster, and miscarriage: whereas Africa is near hand, every way equal in fertility, superior in its productions, the trade safe, the country in many part extremely healthy, the people tractable, and the returns immensely great and populous country, with an infinite variety of commercial articles, which the Europeans, at present, are absolutely strangers to. These particulars have been already discussed in our general account of Africa. (UHM. XVI. p.164)

アメリカ先住民については、戦争での捕虜の処遇が人権を無視したものであるがゆえに、彼らを野蛮であるとしている。

These, we know, were the only sort of arms the Americans had, when the Spaniards first arrived in their country; and as these two people resemble one another originally in their arms, so they likewise still resemble one another in their conduct in war. The north-eastern Asiatics carry on their wars more by stratagem than bravery, as they never will openly attack their enemies, unless forced to it by necessity; and the male prisoners they take, especially if they are men of consequence, are treated with all manner of barbarity, such as burning, hewing them to pieces, tearing their bowels out whilst alive, and hanging them up by their feet till they expire; but it is not said, that scalping has as yet been introduced among them, probably, because they are not yet generally provided with sharp knives; nor was this cruel custom introduced among the Americans, till the Europeans provided with instruments proper for the purpose, and promised them a reward for every scalp; but with regard to their male prisoners, they are still equally cruel with those we may now call their ancestors of Asia, and carry on all their wars more by stratagem, ambuscade, or surprize, than by bravery. (UHM. XVI. p.292)

このような進歩史観からすると、イギリスは貿易の振興によって、自由な政治制度が実現された進歩した国家と評価されることになるのである。

Let any man conversant with the world, pass but a transient reflection on the state of mankind throughout the globe, and he will find, that scarce any thing prevails, but a confederacy of civil, ecclesiastical, and military power against the liberties and properties of the whole human species, except in the little spots called Great Britain and Ireland, and their dependent dominions. And was it not the advancement of the commerce of this nation in the days of our great queen Elizabeth, that first enabled us to oppose those chains of slavery which were so resolutely forged for us in Spain? And has not our trade and navigation, ever since, been the only means, whereby we could keep pace with our enemies in riches and power, in order to defend ourselves against that tyranny and oppression, to which almost the whole world is liable? Can any man consider these indisputable facts, and hesitate a moment, whether our trade is not still the only means left us, whereby we can protect ourselves from that bondage wherein other states are involved? Now, as this converse with the world is the honest way to strengthen and enrich a nation, and the great discourager of idleness and debauchery; and as we are situated by nature, and have geniuses proper for its cultivation, ought we not to make it our study to manage it to its highest capacity of advancement? which if we would in earnest pursue, war itself would be such an advantage and security to us, that we should not only be out of danger from our enemies, but command the trade of the world; and, on the contrary, if that be neglected, all the miseries, attendants on slavery and poverty, that shall happen to the nation, may be ascribed to our own improvidence and inactivity. (UHM. XVI. p. 281)

第3節 帝国主義的眼差し

進歩史観で社会の進歩を測り、国家の順序づけが行われると、途端に、進歩していると信じる国に「遅れた」国を進歩させようとする意識が生まれてくる。また、「遅れた」国の産物が無駄にならないように、進歩した国が利用すべきだとする身勝手な論理も使われる。これが後の帝国主義の論理に至り着くわけだが、『万国史』の中にすでにこの考えが兆しているのを見て取ることができる。

ヨーロッパの優越意識は次の段落に見出すことができよう。

But to resume the course of our general observations upon Europe, from which we may seem to have digressed: it may be said, that though Europe is esteemed

the most happy and valuable quarter of the globe, these prerogatives are not derived from its size, since it is the least of all the four into which the world is divided. It has been supposed, that if the whole habitable globe was divided into 300 parts, Europe will contain of these 27, Asia 101, Africa 82, and America 90: and though Europe respectively excels America, and perhaps Africa, yet she falls far short of Asia, if we may depend on the accounts of the least experienced travellers. With regard to subterranean riches, her gold and silver mines are not to be compared with those in the other quarters of the world: she has few precious stones, and as to spices and perfumes, we well know from whence they come. But with regard to territory, if we consider what the Spaniards, the English, the Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch possess in the other parts of the world, it may be said, that the dominions of the European powers are equal, if not superior to Asia; and if it does not contain so many people within its own limits, yet it commands more; and, in consequence of their trade, the Europeans enjoy all that nature has bestowed on the other parts of the world. (UHM. XVI. p.164)

『万国史』における中国観の特徴は、中国文明のもつ弱点を指摘していることである。ヴォルテールの中国史礼賛は7点において間違いだという。第1に、漢字が不規則的で中国人の観念をあいまいなものにしていること、第2に、中国人内部に中国史記述に食い違いがあること、第3に、中国の年代記が不統一であること、第4に、中国の豊かさについての記述がペルシャに残っていないこと、第5に、中国の天文観測が不正確であること、第6に、中国古代の歴史が断片しか残存していなくて不正確であること、第7に、孔子自身が有能な歴史家の不在を嘆いていること、である(UHM. XVI. p.95-6)。こうして、中国はそれまでの高い位置から一段低められて評価される。中国固有の文化は野蛮で、西洋の宣教師たちから西洋文化を学んではじめて発展したのだという。

In all other respects, the Chinese are nothing near so learned as cried up: They were almost as bad astronomers, geographers, and musicians, as any of their barbarous neighbours, before the missionaries came amongst them; and whatever proficiency they have since made in logic, natural philosophy, geometry, anatomy, or any art or science, was intirely owing to the instructions they received from the same missionaries. They are still so fond of their old astrology, that they mark the lucky and unlucky days in their almanacs; and indeed, they are such superstitious observers of times, and rely so much on the predictions of their astrologers and fortune-tellers, that they govern most of their actions by the direction of such people, and will not undertake a journey or any business of

moment without consulting them. (UHM. XVI. p.98)

このような評価の上に語られる中国の産物の描写には、帝国主義の眼差しが感じられる。

The product of the country is corn and grain of all sorts, in great plenty; with silk, cotton, honey, wax, fruits of all the sorts we have in Europe, and several others, all exquisite to the sight and taste, not know amongst us. Their oranges, grapes, figs, pomegranates, bananas, and many others, are in as great perfection as in any part of India. Their rich pasture-ground breed prodigious numbers of cattle. Game is in great plenty and variety, particularly bears, boars, buffaloes, deer of several kinds, whose skins are a profitable commodity. Besides these, there are a number of elephants, tygers, fierce, and extremely dangerous, seeking their prey commonly in large droves; and leopards, with various kinds of other wild creatures, not to be found in many other countries. The musk-cat carries that noble perfume in a kind of bladder under its navel, is caught here, and is in great esteem. (UHM. XVI. p.90)

トルコ人については、彼らが貿易に不熱心であるがために、ヨーロッパの諸民族が進出して、貿易の振興をはかっているのである、と典型的な帝国主義の論理に基づいて論じている。

The Turks are possessed in Europe of Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Ragusa, Walachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Budziac, and Ockzakow Tartary, Crim and Little Tartary, Albania, Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, and all the ancient Greece, with its numerous islands in the Archipelago. Thus happily situated in the center of our continent, if we reckon in their Asiatic territories, which we have already given an account of, they could not fail of acquiring the trade as well as the empire of the whole world, if these glorious advantages were not lost by the indolence and inactivity, and the destructive maxims of their government. But though the Turks were no traders, being rather discouragers and destroyers of trade; yet as they possess so great a part of the world, and some of the most fruitful countries, and productive of the best and choicest merchandizes, it will always induce the European parts of the world to send their merchants among the Turks, to traffic with them; and the Turks themselves, by their haughtiness, despising manufacturing, and not improving the product which they enjoy in many places, must necessarily be obliged to purchase of other nations the things they stand in need of; which naturally encourages the merchants of the other nations to come among them. (UHM. XVI. p.246)

こうして、トルコ領内の産物が記述される。

Raw silk: this, though the chief return of the whole trade, is not all the immediate produce of the grand segnior's dominion, but of the Persians also, is brought from the country where it is produced to Aleppo, and from thence to Scaderoon, where the merchants trade for it.....The other importations are, 1. Wool and yarn, as Caramania wool, and wool of the islands; grogram and mohair yarn, that is, goats hair, spun or twisted; cotton wool and yarn, from almost all the islands of the Aegean sea. 2. Gums, such as gum dragant, sandarac, senega, arabic sarcocolla. 3. Manufactures, as Persian silks, carpets, burdets, callicoes, from the islands of Siphanto, Paros, &c. cordeyans, shagreen skins. 4. Drugs, dye-stuffs, earths, &c. as galls from Syria, coffee from Mocha by Alexandria, balm, natural storax; from Samos, scammony, myrrh; manna, galbam, sena, aloes hepatica, olibanum, zedoary, esquinethes, hypoastri, aceatrice, oker, emery-stone, bolus an earth, adoration, all at Samos; velani, from the island of Zea; coloquintida, euphorbium, mirabolans, frankincense, from Persia and Egypt; mastic, from Scio and Naxoi, besides opium and some other articles. 5. Liquids, as arc, orange-flower-water, vermicelli, turpentine. 6. Seeds, as worm-seed, garden-seeds, rice. 7. Fruits, as figs, pistachas, raisins of Smyrna, pomegranates. 8. Woods, as box and cypress-wood, fustic, ebony, walnut-tree. (OHM. XVI. p.247)

アジア各地の産物に注がれる帝国主義的な熱い眼差しは、このほかに、アフリカとアメリカの産物にも向けられており、後のヨーロッパによる世界支配の論理がここにも胚胎していたことが分かるのである。

第4節 普遍主義の芽生え

『万国史』には、世界を支配国と被支配地域に分断する帝国主義的な見方だけではなく、それぞれの地域の存在意義を認め、平和な共存をもとめる普遍主義が芽生えていることも見落とせない。まずそれは、文明が直線的には発展せず、時には文明国が退歩する歴史的事実の認識に看取することができよう。以下には、『万国史』がヨーロッパの野蛮性とアジアの文明性にも十分に配慮していることが、よく表明されている。

Our Universal History has pursued and completed the plan which Mr. Ockley called out, by bringing the reader acquainted with a series of princes, some of

them the greatest that ever dignified, and others the worst that ever disgraced, human nature. In this history, he will see by what gradations, industry, learning, and all the fine arts, flourished under the califate, when they were extinguished in Europe. What is still more amazing, the Christians of Spain were barbarians, when the Saracens in the same country were a polished people. He will see the causes why the califate, the greatest and perhaps the best polished empire that ever existed, came to ruin; how the califs degenerated from the original principles of their government into crimes that rendered it necessary for them to be protected by foreign mercenaries in the possession of their power; and how those mercenaries, becoming a standing army, gave law to their masters, till their empire was overthrown by barbarians. (UHM. XVI. p. iii)

同じく、『万国史現代編まとめ』の序には、各国史では分からない歴史の変化が、各国の関係史によって明らかになる、としてドイツ諸国とカトリック教皇との関係の複雑さに言及している。

The reader of the following pages has an advantage above the readers of the histories of particular states, because he has an opportunity at one view to compare their several interests and situations, and to trace those movements in the political system that are either hid or disguised in more confined accounts. It is general history alone that can instruct us in the prodigious alterations that have happened in the views and maxims of the several princes of Europe, since the commencement of this century. The editors of the latter volumes, sensible that the histories of France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and other countries, had not been carried down near enough to the present time, spared no pains to make them as complete as possible. Their histories of the Italian states is a work that never was attempted before in English, and is selected from materials, which, though unquestionably authentic, are little known to the public, as will be plain to the inspection of the enquiring reader. In their history of the popes they have been enabled to shew, that the Holy See owed its temporal greatness chiefly to the ambition and tyranny of the German emperors and their governors. The popes took the part of the oppressed, whom misery had made credulous, and despair furnished with arms. The little Italian states and families, who for centuries had not heard of an emperor of Rome, were astonished when the success of Charles the Great erected and claimed a paramount power over all Italy, and treated as rebels all who resisted him. The popes and their party, who were called Guelphs, stood at first up for general liberty; and though they never could abolish the Imperial claims, yet they divided and weakened their influence, by obliging the

emperors to parcel out their Italian territories into great fiefs, the proprietors of which soon found it convenient to maintain their possession of them by joining with the popes. (UHM. XVI. p. vii)

いわば弁証法的な歴史の展開に意識的な『万国史』には、キリスト教にとらわれない判断基準も存在している。これは、特に日本の文化への高い評価に見て取ることができる。

Whatever affinity there may be between the Chinese and Japanese, one thing, however, is certain, that in the character they bear with other nations, they appear in a quite opposite light: Whilst the Chinese are looked upon as crafty, cunning, covetous, and knavish, the Japanese are admired for their strict honesty, fidelity, and generosity: they are generally wise, acute, and ingenious, surpassing all Orientals, and even Europeans in docility. They enjoy themselves as much in innocent pleasures as any other nations, but can at any time forego them for better employment, and are content when their circumstances do not easily admit of them. Neither are they covetous after much wealth, being satisfied with a competency, as the best preservative against lying and cozening, against envy or detraction. In conversation, they observe a great decorum, and avoid all loose, light, and vain speeches, affecting a kind of laconic style, and an aversion to railing and defamation. In diet, they are abstemious; in dress and furniture, clean and decent. Drunkenness and gluttony are scarce known amongst them, any more than cheating and dishonesty. Yet, with these virtues, which many of them possess in an eminent degree, they are frequently cruel and revengeful, and carry their resentment to excess; and in great misfortunes, as injuries, disgrace, affronts from their superiors, or other such mortifications, they most commonly make away with themselves. Their women are more particularly guilty of this crime of suicide, especially whenever their chastity, conjugal fidelity, or even modesty, are called in question. (UHM. XVI. p.101)

インドの戦争技術を論ずる箇所では、技術の普遍性に言及して、インド人が常に戦争に弱いという運命論を排している。

It is owing intirely to an ignorance of the manners of the Asiatics, that many people imagine they can never be made soldiers. It may, perhaps, be shewn that they never will, whilst the same wretched government and abhorrence of

innovation subsists; but those are greatly mistaken who attribute their dread of fire-arms, and particularly of artillery, to a dastardly disposition, and an invincible timidity. The true cause lies in the inexperience of their leading men, who never understood the advantages of discipline, and who have kept their infantry upon too low a footing. Their cavalry, though not backward to engage with sabres, are extremely unwilling to bring their horses within the reach of great guns; so that they do not decline an engagement so much through fear for their lives, as for their fortunes, which are all laid out in the horse they ride on. Such of the natives as have been disciplined and encouraged by Europeans, and formed into a regular infantry under officers of their own, and generally known by the name of Sepoys, have familiarized themselves to fire-arms, and behaved well behind walls; and when we give them sergeants to lead them on, they make no contemptible figure in the field. (UHM. XVI. p.106)

社会総体において、ヨーロッパが優位にあると判断されていることは、すでに見た通りであるが、アジアのもつ長所に関しては、『万国史』全般にわたってかなり詳細に述べられている。以下は、起源におけるアジアの優位性について論じた箇所である。

All these particulars tend to shew, that the progress of things has, in fact, been from east to west, and that the emigrants for peopling the western parts had of course brought their arts and sciences, inventions, fruits, animals, vegetables, religion and languages, in part along with them; and what they had not at first brought, they afterwards endeavoured, if possible, to supply themselves with. (UHM. XVI. p.121)

アフリカとの貿易を論ずる箇所では、帝国主義的論理が主調音を奏でているが、奴隷貿易への強力な反対論は普遍主義の萌芽と見るべきものであろう。

In short, Africa, though a full quarter of the globe, stored with an inexhaustible treasure, and capable, under proper improvements, of producing so many things delightful, as well as convenient within itself, seems utterly neglected by those who are civilized themselves, and its own inhabitants are quite unsollicitous of reaping the benefits which nature has provided for them. What it affords in its present rude unimproved state is solely given up to the gain of others, as if not only the people were to be sold for slaves to their fellow creatures, but the whole country was captive, and produced its treasures merely for the use and benefit

of the rest of the world, and not for their own. (UHM. XVI. p.123)

アフリカについては、古代に高い文明が存在していたことに言及し、その崩壊過程を、いささかイスラムに対して偏見的にはあるが、述べている。

Africa once contained several kingdoms and states, eminent for the liberal arts, for wealth and power, and the most extensive commerce. Then almost all the northern parts of Africa were full of people from the Red Sea to the Atlantic ocean; the kingdoms of Egypt and Ethiopia were much celebrated, and the rich and powerful state of Carthage extended her commerce to every part of the then known world: even the British shores were visited by her fleets, till Juba, king of Mauritania and tributary to Carthage, unhappily called in the Romans, who by the assistance of the Mauritanians, subdued Carthage, and made all the kingdoms and states in Africa subject to them. After this, the natives constantly plundered, and consequently impoverished by the governors sent from Rome, neglected their trade, and cultivated no more of their lands than might serve for their subsistence. Upon the Vandals, a barbarous northern people, who contributed still more to the destruction of arts and sciences; and, to add to this country's calamity, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary in the seventh century: these were afterwards succeeded by the Turks; and both being of the Mohammedan religion, whose professors carry desolation with them wherever they come, the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was thereby compleated. (UHM. XVI. p.123)

ヨーロッパ諸国の中では、スイスに対する評価が高い。スイスが強大な軍事力をもっているにもかかわらず、その高い道義性のゆえに、近隣諸国に危険を及ぼさないばかりか、その高い道義性のゆえに隣接する2大国、フランスとオーストリアから守られているという。

Yet with all this force they are not in the least formidable to those that live near them, since they are without doubt the very best neighbours in the world; so void of ambition that they have no idea of conquest, such lovers of justice that the very report of oppression will bring them to the relief of the distressed. By this means the city of Geneva has been often, and will probably be always, protected against two very formidable powers, one the most enterprizing, and the other the most ambitious in Europe. (UHM. XVI. p.223)

したがって、軍事的侵略を行わない対外政策が『万国史』においては称揚されている。フランスのアンリ 4 世は勢力の均衡を重んじ、侵略意図がなかったゆえに名君とされる。

The French history since the accession of the house of Bourbon, which contains but four reigns, may be said to include almost all that need be known of the general history of Europe. Henry IV. in respect to public affairs, was a great and good prince; he loved his subjects as his children, promoted trade, and maintained justice throughout his territories. He was not inclined to disturb or injure his neighbours; but, rather contented with his own dominions, he was so far persuaded, that a steady and unalterable balance of power was for the common benefit of Christendom, that in the latter end of his reign and life, he formed a design to establish it, and to cut off pretences for wars in succeeding times, by means of a perpetual congress. (UHM. XVI. p.200)

このように、『万国史』には現代の国際政治の理念がすでに萌芽的な形で見られる。どの国も地域も自治権をもち、対等な地位にあると考える普遍主義の芽生えである。『万国史』はこの点で、きわめて高い価値をもつ普遍史である。

結び 『万国史』の文明観の意義と限界

以上見てきたように、『万国史』に現れた文明観は多義的であり、ほぼ中世から近代までに展開された文明観のすべてを含んでいるといっていよい。このうち、普遍主義にささえられた文明観は現代の文明に関する見解を先取りしている点で、注目すべきものである。

しかし、その普遍主義に限界があることも見ておかなければならない。周辺の「未開」な民族とレッテルを貼られた人々は、『万国史』では徹底して「野蛮な」人々と扱われ、評価されることがない。だが、今世紀の文化人類学や生態学は、「未開」と思われている先住民に、実は豊かな文化があり、生態系を傷つけない「持続可能な社会」が実現されていることを、明らかにした。学問が明らかにしたこのような見解は、前世紀にも、18 世紀にも、個人的見解としては存在した。『ウォールデン』でその思想を展開させたヘンリー・デイヴィッド・ソローも、18 世紀にすでに反奴隷制論を表明していたジョン・ウルマンも、アメリカ先住民の高い精神性に注目していた。しかし、『万国史』には先住民族の文化への顧慮がまったく存在しない。シベリアの先住民の生活は不快で、キリスト教に改宗してはじめて救われるべきものと描かれている。

Though their manner of living is most nasty, and their actions most stupid, yet they think themselves the happiest people in the world, and look upon the Russians who are settled among them with contempt: however, this notion begins to change at present; for the old people, who are confirmed in their customs, drop off, and the young ones, being converted to the Christian religion, adopt the customs of the Russians, and despise the barbarity and superstition of their ancestors. (UH M. XVI. p.88)

マレー民族もまた野蛮で野獣に等しい民族として描かれている。

The inhabitants of Malacca, or the Malais, are, for the most part, savages, and live after the manner of beasts. The heat of the climate, which is almost under the Line, renders their colour extremely swarthy: and they are very fond of Europeans on account of their whiteness. As soon as they arrive on their coasts, they offer them their wives and daughters, that they may have children like them. (UHM. XVI. 113)

先住民の記述に関して驚くべきことの一つは、アメリカ先住民の移住について、ほぼ正しい推測をしていることである。彼らが大昔にアジアからベーリング海を経て、アラスカに至った可能性をつぎのように述べている。

If we compare this description of the Americans with what is recorded of some late discoveries made by the Russians, in regard to the inhabitants of Camtschatka and the neighbouring parts, we shall have good reason to believe that America was first peopled from the north east of Asia: for though it now seems to be certain, that there is an open sea between the two continents, yet it is toward the north so narrow, that it may be easily passed in the canoes or boats made use of by the people on both sides, especially the straits between the Tchukotschi-noss, or cape, and the continent of America; and if any credit can be given to the people who live upon that cape, there is an island lies opposite to, and within sight of the cape, to which they may, in half a day, pass over in their boats; and from that island may be seen in a clear day, a large continent to the eastward which is full of people, who, in every particular, resemble the Tchukotschi themselves; but this continent, they say, is a much better country than their own, as it has large forests of fir, pine, larch, and cedar-trees, and great rivers running from the east, and falling into the sea upon the west side of it.

It is therefore highly probable, that, many ages since, some people have passed

over from the north-east of Asia to the opposite coast of America, and finding that country more fruitful and better provided with game of all sorts than their own, it is natural to suppose that they would settle there; for hunting and fishing were the only methods they had been accustomed to, of procuring themselves either food or raiment: even to this day the people upon the north-east coast of Asia never think of sowing or reaping; and the character of being provident no ways belong to any of the natives we know of in America. The north-west coast of America having been thus provided with a few inhabitants, it is also natural to suppose, that their posterity would from thence, be degrees, spread to the southward, and at last, over the whole continent of America. (UHM. XVI. p.291)

このアメリカ先住民との戦争について、法的解決手段を提案しているのは一応の先見性と言えよう。

To prevent these dreadful calamities for the future, and establish a lasting harmony and good neighbourhood with the Indians, it would be highly expedient, if a surveyor was appointed, and paid by every province, frequently to ride the boundaries of that province, to see if any encroachments or new settlements were made on the Indian territories; and to make a report of his survey every three months to the governor and council of that province; and, at the annual sittings of the assembly, to deliver in a memorial of all his proceedings, that if any persons proved refractory, they might be dealt with as the house should judge proper. (UHM. XVI. p.320)

だが、すでに述べた通り、アメリカ先住民に対する真の理解はここにも見られない。彼らが抵抗して始めてその存在が認識されたのであり、そうでなければその存在は無視され、抹殺されかねなかったのである。

このようにして『万国史』において文明と野蛮の区別は決定的であった。『万国史』主調音として啓蒙主義の進歩史観に支えられ、普遍主義を打ち出していたが、まだそこには「野蛮」と判断された人々を抹殺しかねない論理を秘めた普遍主義にとどまっていたのである。

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註

- 1 Paul-Gabriel Boucé, *The Novels of Tobias Smolett* (Longman, 1976) p.30.
- 2 この著作に一番近い問題を扱った研究書に、P. J. Marshall Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Preceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (J. M. Dent Sons Ltd., 1982)があるが、*Universal History* は8カ所しか言及されていない。
- 3 テキストには、British Museum 所蔵の初版本マイクロフィルムを使用した。UHM は『万国史』現代編を表し、ローマ数字は巻数を、アラビア数字はページ数を示す。つづりはテキストに従ったが、long s (ſ) はshort s (s) に変えた。テキストのイタリック体は無視した。

Summery

In the *Universal History*, which was published from 1736 to 1766 in England, and which probably is the first modern world history, civilization is discussed from several different viewpoints, with various, ambiguous ideas of civilization, which can be analyzed and classified into the following four different categories.

1. Ideas of Civilization Based on Christian Views Because the *Universal History* is written in the framework of Mosaic history, it has a strong tendency to esteem Christian civilizations, rejecting pagan ones. Particularly remarkable is the contempt for Islam.
2. Ideas of Civilization Based on Progressivism The *Universal History* tries to evaluate civilization, measuring the degree of progress in such fields as farming, arts, manufacturing, trade, health and hygiene, government system, manners, industry, and learning.
3. Ideas of Civilization Based on Imperialism The *Universal History* tends to describe products of each area from the viewpoint of how much they are useful to European countries. This tendency can be referred to as imperialistic.
4. Ideas of Civilization Based on Globalism Sometimes the *Universal History* estimates a civilization in its own values. This tendency can be referred to as globalism because all civilizations are regarded as equal.

In spite of its complexity, the *Universal History* is lacking in ecological considerations, resulting in a contempt for all the 'primitive' cultures, and failing to understand their significance to the global environment.